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# GREAT MASS MEETING

ON THE BATTLE GROUND OF  
TIPPECANOE.

60,000 Freemen in Council!

SPEECH OF  
GENERAL J. WATSON WEBB.

(From the "Courier and Enquirer", October 14th.)

I thank you fellow-citizens, very sincerely, for this greeting—for this more than welcome. Not that I have the vanity to apply it to myself personally, because I have done nothing to merit such a reception; but I receive it as it is intended—a grateful tribute to the cause in which we are laboring, and to the triumph of which, I shall cheerfully, if need be, devote the remainder of my days. I feel that it is good to be here; but I also feel, that I want words to express the emotions of my heart, at witnessing, and being a participator in, this great ovation to Liberty. It has been said, that the most beautiful and the most wonderful scenes which it is permitted man to behold, are, the tempest-tossed ocean and the rising of that glorious orb, which gives heat and light, and vitality to all the world; and by his presence, certifies to man the existence of the Deity and His love to our race. But permit me to say, that there is in the scene now presented to my view, a sublimity and a moral grandeur, which far exceed anything which the imagination of the poet has conceived, or which the pencil of the painter can portray. I have witnessed the rising of the sun from the loftiest peaks of the Alps; and in various passages across the Atlantic, I have seen the ocean in its calmest moods and when lashed into fury by the storm, obedient only to His will, in whose hands is the destiny of nations, and who alone, raises the whirlwind and directs the storm; but never have I witnessed the moral sublime so perfectly delineated, as in this spontaneous uprising of a whole people, to vindicate and secure to their children, the great inheritance of civil and religious liberty, won by the valor and consecrated by the blood of their fathers. The greatest earth-

quake in the natural world, sinks into insignificance, when compared with this spontaneous uprising of a whole people, animated solely by the love of Liberty, and unalterably resolved to punish all those who have conspired against their constitutional rights.

When I look around upon this vast assemblage, and permit my mind to turn back upon the period when I first stood upon this far-famed battle ground, and remember where it was then situated, and what was then the condition of the great North-West, I want language to express my wonder and astonishment. Thirty-six years ago, I was one of a Court Martial ordered to assemble at *Terre Haute*; and thirty-five years ago, I constituted one of the garrison of Fort Dearborn, at Chicago. All west from this point, was then one vast wilderness, inhabited solely by the Red Man and a handful of soldiers, whose duty it was, to protect the scattered population of our frontier settlements. The nearest residence of a white inhabitant to our garrison, was at Fort Wayne, where we sent once a fortnight for our mail. Here, where we now stand, was then the very confines of the white man's home; and now west of this spot, in that then trackless wilderness, are to be found the happy and prosperous homes, of nearly five millions of Freemen. My old garrison, Chicago, then more than a hundred miles in advance of the most adventurous white man's home, now contains a population of more than a hundred thousand souls; and un'old villages and cities, and the most active and thriving farming population on the face of the Globe, now dwell and prosper, where so recently, the death-like silence of the wilderness, had never been broken by the busy

hum of civilization. Only thirty-six years have passed since the period of which I speak. I then stood here in the vigor of youthful manhood. I stand before you to-day, having numbered but little over half a century of the years allotted to man—still in my prime and able as ever to do battle in the cause of Liberty—and yet I may lay claim among the millions who inhabit the great North-West, to be that mysterious person of whom everybody has heard, but who is so rarely seen—"the oldest inhabitant". When RIP VAN WINKLE awoke from his twenty year's sleep in the caverns of the Cats-kills, he knew not the faces of the neighbors with whom he supposed he had parted on the previous day; and in like manner, when I wake as from my sleep of more than a third of a century, I look in vain for the old landmarks of my hunting grounds, and the familiar faces of companions of the hunt and the mess-room. All, all have been gathered to their rest; but I find in their stead, millions of people, in whose stalwart forms and smiling faces, I perceive at once, the evidences of universal prosperity, and a manly, fearless independence, which delights in honest labor and reaps its never-failing rewards. Your faces are all unknown to me; but God has planted his image there; and I know that in the heart of every man in this vast assemblage, there dwells a spirit of Liberty which will never succumb to any power which seeks to undermine the free institutions bequeathed us by those who pledged "their lives, their liberties, and their sacred honor" in support of freedom of thought, freedom of action, freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, and Freedom for man. And yet I cannot help exclaiming, whence came this army of freedom?

Come ye from the sunny South? No. Man there, is taught that labor belongs solely to bondsmen and to slaves—that it is beneath the dignity of freemen; and of course, ye came not thence. But ye have come from the Free North,—offshoots of that noble band of Pilgrims who planted the Tree of Liberty on the Rock of Plymouth and the Banks of the Hudson, and watered its roots with their blood, freely spilt on the fields of Concord, of Lexington, and of Bunker Hill, until its branches have overshadowed a vast Continent, and given dignity to labor and freedom and civil and religious liberty, to a mighty people. But you are not alone in this work of causing the wilderness to blossom as a rose. I perceive everywhere, standing around and amid you, children of another clime, who have been driven from the despotisms of the old world, to find a home and freedom and prosperity in the land of WASHINGTON, and under laws which have their foundations in the everlasting truths of revealed religion and the principle of equal rights to all who bear the image of our Maker. We welcome all such to a free and full participation in the blessings of our free institutions; and may God in his infinite goodness, teach them, one and all, that they can best exhibit their gratitude for the liberty and prosperity which they now enjoy, but which were not their birthright, by devoting all their energies, to the

preservation of the glorious constitution which secures to us the institutions in which they have been permitted so freely to participate.

Men of the North-West—freemen of the soil—descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers; and ye who have proved your love of freedom by forsaking your Father-land to dwell in this "the land of the free, and the home of the brave"—what is it that brings you here to-day? What is it that has brought together here, in the very presence of the spirits of those who laid down their lives in their country's service, such a vast concourse of the bone and sinew of our land? Need I reply? Does not the heart of every man leap to his tongue, ready to exclaim, "We come in the cause of Freedom" and to vindicate the Constitution and the institutions of the country, against those who would "trample both under foot, and establish in their stead" "an odious oligarchy, the very existence of which" "pre-supposes the presence of SLAVERY with all" "its attendant demoralization, in a region where" "free white labor is now honored and respected, and" "gives law and order, and peace and prosperity to the" "land". Such, fellow-citizens, is the purpose of your assembling in council on this occasion; and would to God that I were more capable of placing vividly before you, the momentous crisis at which we have arrived in our nation's history. But my vocation is to write and not to speak; and although I could not but obey the call to be with you to day, I well knew that I should find here, good soldiers and true, whose impassioned eloquence and matured wisdom, would abundantly compensate for all my deficiencies.

When our fathers gravely determined to resist the aggressive acts of the Mother Country, and appeal to the God of battles for that redress which their rulers refused, the civilized world conceded the justice of their cause and the necessity of their appeal. But great as their grievances were—oppressive as were the acts of their rulers—history will hereafter vindicate the truth of the deliberate declaration which I now utter in the presence of my God and of this vast multitude of Freemen, that according to the best of my judgment and belief, based upon a candid and careful examination of the whole subject, resistance to the administration of the so-called Democratic party and its murderous and bloodstained acts of oppression towards our brethren of Kansas, is more imperatively demanded at our hands now, than was resistance to GEORGE the III and his minions by our patriot sires in 1775. In the whole catalogue of grievances so vividly set forth by the immortal JEFFERSON in our Declaration of Independence, we find but a very faint foreshadowing of what has actually been practised by the existing Administration at Washington, and for which, they were so eloquently arraigned by the Liberty-loving JEFFERSON of the present day, (WILLIAM H. SEWARD) in his admirable speech in the Senate of the United States in February last. No one charge did our fathers make against their oppressors, which we may not make with equal truth, against the President of the United States and the miserable tools who have base-



ly sold themselves to do the execrable work of the Slaveocracy of the land. And in addition, we can make out against them a record of blood, such as our fathers never dreamed of, and which would have driven them to extremities, which we, having a source of redress in the Ballot-Box, cannot even imagine. But our fathers had no ballot-boxes, through which and to which, they could appeal; and therefore, they appealed to arms and to "the Supreme ruler of the Universe" for that justice which their King withheld. But they gave us a more simple and effectual remedy for all our grievances, when they bequeathed to us the blessing of self-government, and gave us the ballot-box for its preservation. And the knowledge of this fact, has rendered us quiet and submissive under outrages to which they were strangers. Our remedy is in our own hands; and they who bequeathed to us our Liberties, our free institutions, and the noble charter by which they are guaranteed, inculcated the all important duty of submission to the powers that be, until, such time as we have failed to secure a redress of grievances by an honest and intelligent exercise of the elective franchise. We have thus submitted; and the hour is at hand for redress. The call for the gathering of Freemen, has gone forth; and we are here to-day in obedience to that call. And in this vast assemblage, and the spirit which animates it, may be distinctly read the hand-writing on the wall, which proclaimed to BALTHAZAR and his minions, that their hour had come.

Fellow-Citizens, this is no party gathering. Party is the life-blood of a Republic, and I do not wish to see the day when there shall be no parties in our country. But there are periods in the history of nations, when all party lines and all personal differences, and all selfish considerations, are thrust aside as the idle wind which no man regardeth, and give place to vital questions of principle upon which depend the very existence of Government itself. In monarchies and despotisms, the people have no remedy but in revolution and an appeal to the sword. But thank God and our Patriot fathers, we have a simpler and more certain remedy. We have both the right and the power, peaceably to redress ourselves and to vindicate our principles; and that we may do so understandingly, and cheer each other on in the noble and patriotic work, and induce all lovers of freedom to join us, we are now assembled together in council, on ground consecrated to liberty by the blood of Patriots, freely poured out in defence of our common country.

If there be among us any who, still clinging to party recollections, are anxiously looking for the merits of the pending strife between Slavery and Freedom, to them I would say in the spirit of kindness and of truth, that there is but one solitary question to be decided by the approaching Presidential contest; and that is—"Shall the Institution of Slavery be restricted to the line of 36° 30' of North latitude as was solemnly covenanted by our fathers thirty-six years ago, or shall that blighting curse be extended into the free territories of the United States, to the de-

"moralization of our people, the dishonoring of free labor, and the ultimate destruction of even the semblance of Liberty and the principles of the Constitution by which it is fostered?" This I say, is the sole and only question to be determined in the coming Presidential contest; and in the determining of this all important matter, which is to affect the destinies of this great country through all future time, men are as nothing. You have been told that this is a war against the institution of Slavery, and the rights of our fellow-citizens of the Slave-holding States under the Constitution of the Union. But all this is false, and known to be false by those who make the charge. We war not against Slavery, but against its extension into territory now free; and if I know myself, I would sooner sever this right arm from my body, than stand before you this day, advocating any, the slightest interference with the purely local institution of Slavery where it rightfully exists. For twenty-nine consecutive years, I have stood before the public the only responsible editor, of one of the leading journals of the United States; and during twenty-seven years of that time, the South have never had a more determined or zealous advocate for all their constitutional rights. And it is my pride, as it is my duty to declare, that now and hereafter, they will always find in me, in my Press, and in my accomplished associates, the same devotion to their constitutional rights, which has heretofore called forth their admiration and applause. But when Slavery becomes *aggressive*—when its advocates cease to be content with its being a *local* institution and with the protection which the Constitution gives it, and aim to render it *national*; when the Slaveocracy openly repudiate the most solemn compacts, and glorying in their dishonor, demand that it shall be extended into territory now free, by the direct legislation of Congress; when they shamefully boast of their violation of plighted faith, and impudently threaten to "conquer" the freemen of the North and compel their submission; when they proclaim that Slavery is a blessing and not a curse, as they have always admitted in times past; when they repudiate the sentiments of WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON, and ridicule the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and denounce it as "a Rhetorical Flirish"; and an abstraction; and when they impudently threaten *disunion* if the North will not tamely submit to their impudent and arrogant demands—it becomes the duty of every honest citizen to rally in defence of Freedom, and sternly to decree, that the institution of Slavery shall not be extended north of the Compromise line of 1820. In so doing, we shall not lose sight of our duty to our Southern brethren and of the Constitution; and palsied be the tongue that would utter one word in derogation of either.

That Slavery is a curse to the master and to the country where it exists, rather than to the race held in bondage, all must admit; and I cheerfully admit, too, that the only remedy yet devised (emancipation) is worse than the disease. Let no man therefore, taunt our Southern brethren with this

plague-spot, or seek to intermeddle with an institution, the existence of which among them, is their misfortune and not their fault. They are entitled to our sympathy and condolence; and I speak advisedly when I say, that they have it. The whole North, with a few miserable exceptions, commiserate the misfortune of those who are born with this curse in their midst, and only take exception to the impudence and the arrogance which unblushingly seeks to extend it in violation of the most sacred pledges and contracts which can be made between men. Who is there among you, if he have a neighbor or relative, afflicted with some horrid and disgusting disease, will not give to the afflicted, his warmest sympathy and his deepest commiseration? He will, if necessary, cheerfully divide with him his purse, and do all that it is in the power of man to do to ameliorate his condition; but when the afflicted neighbor, asks him to share his disease, and begs to be permitted to communicate it to his family, without thereby in any way relieving himself, will he not draw back and reject with horror the selfish and impudent proposition? And so it is with Slavery. We commiserate those, who in the Providence of God, are afflicted with this moral leprosy, and deeply sympathize with them in their misfortunes, and will abstain from interfering, or upbraiding them with their Plague-spot; we will faithfully discharge towards them all our constitutional obligations, and do all in our power to mitigate their sufferings from this blighting curse. But when they ask us to permit its extension into Territory which God and man have alike devoted to freedom, and thereby destroy forever, the respectability of free labor amid unborn millions; and all to enable a class at the South to "put money in their purse," our duty to ourselves and to our posterity—to freedom, to humanity, to our christian faith, and to God himself—demands at our hands a decided repudiation of the impudent proposition. That repudiation has gone forth on the wings of the wind, and has been responded to from every hamlet in the occupancy of honest and intelligent Freemen; and we are assembled here this day, to record our approbation of the Decree. But the Slaveocracy boast, that they will force upon the Freemen of the North, the curse under which they labor—that they will "conquer" the Free Territory of Kansas from the men of the North—that their peculiar institution, shall be restored in the places whence it has been driven by the laws of God and man—and that, ere long the Slaveowner of Georgia, will be at liberty to call the roll of his human chattels within the shadow of the great monument raised to Freedom on Bunker Hill. Shall this be? Will the men of the North, among whom labor is honorable as instituted by God himself when man first fell from his high Estate, bow their necks in tame submission to a mere handful of arrogant mortals, so utterly deficient in the qualities necessary to make good their boasts, that the Freemen of this region alone, where a quarter of a century ago the voice of the white man was rarely heard, could drive them all into the ocean

as easily as in the coming political struggle, they can if they will, rescue forever the Free Soil of our country from the curse which threatens it? No, never, never, never. I doubt not that a majority of this vast assemblage, can with me, boast of their descent from those who nobly won for themselves and for their posterity forever, the civil and religious liberty we enjoy; and I trust in God, that the day is far distant, when any of us can be unmindful of our duty in a crisis like the present. But let us not be unheedful of the signs of the times. Threats have been followed by acts; and those who have undertaken the herculean task of "conquering" the far North, are at this very moment making rapid strides towards the achievement of their purpose, through the weakness, the imbecility, and the treachery of Northern demagogues, who have sold their birthright for a mess of pottage, and now seek to consummate the infamous bargain.

Our enemies will deny this; but look at *Kansas* and the scenes of outrage, robbery, rapine and murder, which have been perpetrated there, during the last year, under the ægis of the Stars and Stripes, and with the full sanction of the officers of the General Government, including the Executive himself—scenes which would have demanded an appeal to arms long since, if the valor and the wisdom of our Revolutionary fathers, had not provided for us the more peaceable remedy of the Ballot-Box. Cunning and chicanery, backed by the power of a venal and corrupt Executive, have attempted to cover up with color of Law, their robberies and murders, and their driving away from the Free soil of Kansas, the Freemen, who, in the exercise of their Constitutional rights, had there made their homes, and were rapidly building up institutions consecrated to Freedom. But the intelligence of the people—of the Freemen of the great North—cannot be thus imposed upon. What are the facts of the case which now so imperatively addresses itself to the hearts and the consciences of Freemen, and demands at their hands the sacrifice of all minor questions, that by a united struggle, they may forever secure to the Free North, exemption from the curse which an all-wise Providence has inflicted upon our less fortunate brethren of the South? Let History tell the tale; and let us, one and all, clearly understand the great issue which we are about to determine for all time.

In pursuance of that provision of the Constitution which declares that Congress *may* admit into the Union new States, the Territory of Missouri framed a State Constitution in 1819, and at the following session of Congress, asked admission into the Union as a *Slave State*. The Statesmen and Patriots of the North, with one voice, said,—"*No*, not as a *Slave State*. We have already sufficient of Slavery representation in Congress; and the Free Territories of the North, shall never be polluted with the blighting and demoralizing curse. That fairest portion of our Continent, is destined to be the future home of our children and their children's children, and of the oppressed of Europe, wh<sup>o</sup>



'loving freedom, may desire to find here an asylum from the tyranny and oppression of the old world. We are ready to welcome Missouri into our Union, but not with the *bar sinister* of Slavery, emblazoned upon her escutcheon". At this the handful of slaveholders at the South, blustered and bullied, and threatened a dissolution of the Federal Union. We were an infant nation then, and the bonds of the Union had not been cemented by the inseparable *interests* which now make us one people. Our fathers loved their Southern brethren with an affection as pure as that which now burns in every patriot bosom of the North; and what is more to the purpose, they not only loved the Union, but they had already determined that *it should never be dissolved*. The South too, at that time, loved the Union, because their Patriots of the Revolution, who stood side by side with our fathers on the battle-grounds of freedom, were still among them and counseled peace and conciliation. "There were Giants in those days". WEBSTER, CLAY, CALHOUN, KING, LOWNDES, PINCKNEY, and their compeers, had all come upon the stage of life, mighty in council and in debate, and still mightier in purpose, because they could sit at the feet of the Gamaliels of the Revolution, and receive instruction for those who battled for, and founded our Republic. Prompted by the purest patriotism, and guided by the same spirit of compromise and concession which presided over the framing of our Constitution, they resolved that the unfortunate dissensions which threatened the very existence of our Government, should forever be allayed, by a *compact* which should be alike just to all, and to which all could assent without dishonor. It was therefore, resolved by the People's Representatives in the House, and by the Representatives of the States in the Senate, and by the Executive of the Nation—JAMES MONROE, of Virginia, a soldier and statesman of the Revolution, and himself a Slaveholder—and approved by JEFFERSON and MADISON and the people of the United States, that Missouri should be admitted into the Union as a sovereign State with Slavery inscribed upon her banner, upon the express and sole condition, and none other, that thereafter, SLAVERY should forever be excluded from all the territory of the Union lying north of 36°30' of north latitude. And for the sacred maintenance of this compact, the South and the North, solemnly pledged their faith one to the other, and caused the pledge thus solemnly given, to constitute a part of the compact itself.

Then the note of discord ceased; the cry of disunion was heard no more; peace and happiness prevailed throughout the land; and we were indeed one people. But time rolled on. The patriots who made, and the sages who sanctioned the compromise of 1820, one by one, fell into their graves. JEFFERSON and MADISON, MONROE and PINCKNEY, LOWNDES and LEE, CLAY and CALHOUN, all of whom had sanctioned this great work and represented therein, and plighted thereto, the *honor* and the good faith of the South; and the giant WEBSTER and the pure-hearted KING, and the host of good men who had united in

this great and good work—all, all were in their graves; when thirty-four years after its inauguration, the Slaveocracy of the present day, regardless of their plighted faith and of their "sacred honors", aided by a few renegade politicians from the North, shamefully and infamously, repudiated and repealed the sacred compromise of our fathers, and gave up to Slavery and to Slavery extension, not only *Kansas*, but every foot of Free territory which had been so solemnly consecrated to freedom!

Then the Sons of Freedom at the North, buckled on their armor and marshaled their legions for the fight, in defence of free labor, and free soil and freemen, and against that Slave-power which had basely sacrificed its plighted faith on the altar of mammon. Then Freemen rushed into the newly organized Territory of Kansas, not only to make for themselves comfortable homes, but by their presence, to rescue the Free soil of that fair region from the curse of Slavery, and preserve it for the occupancy of Freemen. But the Slave power, backed by an unprincipled and unscrupulous Executive, had determined that *Kansas* should be a Slave-State; and therefore, in defiance of the organic law of the country, armed bands of Missourians marched into the Territory on election day, drove the friends of free soil from the Polls or overwhelmed them by their votes, and elected to the Legislature supple tools of their own. The men thus elected by a band of armed Ruffians from Missouri, called themselves the Legislature of the Territory of Kansas! and FRANKLIN PIERCE, the Executive of the United States, who has sold himself, body and soul, to the Slave power, and unblushingly announced himself ready to do their bidding in all things, shamefully recognized this spurious body, and has used the army and the civil power of the Union, to enforce their odious enactments—enactments falsely dignified with the name of Laws, and which are absolutely disgraceful to our country and even to the age in which we live—enactments which would ensure resistance and revolution, even in despotic Russia, and to which no subject of the Sultan would for a moment submit. By these so-called Laws—approved by the Democratic Party and enforced with the bayonet by a weak and wicked Executive—to proclaim aloud the principles of the Declaration of Independence, or to read that noble document within the Territory of Kansas, is declared to be a *felony*, punishable with incarceration in the State Prison for a period of five years! while to advocate the exclusion of Slavery from the Free Soil of Kansas, is made a crime punishable with Death!! And to render morally certain the adoption of a Constitution which shall render Kansas a Slave State forever, no person is permitted to exercise the elective franchise who will not swear that he is in favor of the institution of Slavery in Kansas and the Laws enacted for its support. In proof of this declaration, I read from the enactments to which I refer.

Section 4 of the Act entitled SLAVES, punishes with DEATH any person convicted of decoying or

carrying away a Slave from the heretofore Free Territory of Kansas. But not content with this extraordinary enactment, they also make punishable with DEATH, the act of carrying away a Slave from Virginia or Kentucky; while the States from which the Slave is carried away, never dreamed of punishing the offender with anything more than imprisonment! I quote from the Laws:

SEC. 6. If any person shall entice, decoy or carry away out of any State or other Territory of the United States any slave belonging to another, with intent to procure or effect the freedom of such slave, or to deprive the owner thereof of the services of such slave, and shall bring such slave into this Territory, he shall be adjudged guilty of grand larceny, in the same manner as if such slave had been enticed, decoyed or carried away out of this Territory, and in such case the larceny may be charged to have been committed in any county of this Territory, *into or through which* such slave shall have been brought by such person, *and on conviction thereof the person offending SHALL SUFFER DEATH, or be imprisoned at hard labor for not less than ten years.*

So much for the character of the Slavery established in the free territory of Kansas, by a set of men calling themselves a Legislature for that Territory, but who notoriously owe their election to a set of Ruffians living in the State of Missouri. I quote again from the same Law:

SEC. 11. If any person print, write, *introduce* into, publish or *circulate*, or cause to be brought into, printed, written, published, or circulated, or shall knowingly aid or assist in bringing into, printing, publishing, or circulating within this Territory, any book, paper, pamphlet, magazine, handbill or circular, containing any *statements, arguments, opinions, sentiment, doctrines, advice, or innuendo*, calculated to produce a disorderly, dangerous, or rebellious disaffection among the slaves in this Territory, or to induce such slaves to escape from the service of their masters, or to resist their authority, he shall be guilty of felony, and be punished by imprisonment and hard labor for a term of not less than five years.

Now, fellow-citizens, the Declaration of Independence declares that all men "are born FREE and equal"—a "sentiment" which according to this enactment, is calculated to produce "disaffection" among the slaves of Kansas; and therefore, to read that document as is customary on the Anniversary of our Independence, or to introduce it into the Territory, is a crime punishable with imprisonment with a ball and chain attached to his leg for not less than five years! HENRY CLAY said in his letter to the citizens of New Orleans:—"Slavery is a piratical war against the rights of man." He also said:—"No earthly power could induce me to vote for the introduction of Slavery where it had not before existed, either South or North of the Missouri Compromise line"—neither in Kansas nor New Mexico. And for making such declaration in the Territory of Kansas, or for writing it to a friend residing there, or for circulating the Declaration of Independence there, he would, were he living and within the clutches of the Pro-Slavery authorities of Kansas, be liable to five years' imprisonment, without any option on the part of the Court to lessen his term of bondage!

Let us now see what would be the fate of any here

present, who dares to assert that it is not *right* to hold slaves in Kansas, or who shall disapprove of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, or shall presume to send into Kansas a newspaper inculcating such doctrines:

SEC. 12. If any free person, by *speaking* or by *writing, assert, or maintain* that persons have not the *right* to hold slaves in this Territory, or shall *introduce* into this Territory, print, publish, write, circulate, or cause to be introduced into this Territory, written, printed, published or circulated in this Territory, any book, paper, magazine, pamphlet, or circular containing any *denial of the right of persons to hold slaves in this Territory*, such person shall be deemed guilty of felony, and punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a term of *not less than two years.*

There fellow-citizens, what say you to this gag upon the liberty of speech and of the Press? If the freeman who left this vicinity a year ago to make for himself a home in the free Territory of Kansas, as it was his right to do under the Laws of the United States, shall venture in that home, to "assert or maintain" the blessings of freedom—or if I, or any person editing a free Press, presume to express my honest convictions in regard to Slavery through that Press, the inhabitant of Kansas who ventures to take such paper, or permits his neighbor to see it, is declared to be a *Felon*; and the court before whom he is tried, has no discretion but to sentence him to *two years' imprisonment at hard labor.* And all this is done in the sacred name of Liberty, with the connivance of the Executive of the United States, under the direction of the Slave Power of the South, and by virtue of what are called *Laws*, enacted by a Legislature proved to have been elected by the inhabitants of the State of Missouri. And to insure the conviction of all persons offending in any way against this most tyrannical slave code, it is provided as follows:

SEC. 13. No person who is *conscientiously* opposed to holding slaves, or who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory, *shall sit as a juror* on the trial of any prosecution for any violation of any of the sections of this act.

Having thus shown that to speak or write against Slavery in Kansas, is a crime punishable with imprisonment of from two to five years at hard labor, let us now turn to the act in relation to criminals, and there learn the nature of the punishment for reading or circulating in the Free Territory of Kansas in the nineteenth century, the Declaration of Independence, or the writings of WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, CLAY, and their fellow-patriots;—bearing in mind always, that none but the open advocates of Slavery and Slavery-extension, are permitted to sit as *Jurors*; and that on conviction by such *packed Jury*, the Court has no discretion but to sentence the party convicted, to two or five years' imprisonment at hard labor. Five years for circulating the Declaration of Independence, and two years for reading or circulating an independent newspaper, or for questioning the rightful existence of Slavery in the Free Territory of Kansas, from which it was forever excluded by the Compromise of 1820. Listen to what imprisonment



at hard labor is, without power anywhere, to modify or ameliorate it :

SEC. 2. Every person who may be sentenced by any court of competent jurisdiction, under any law in force within this Territory, to punishment by confinement and hard labor, *shall be deemed a convict, and shall immediately, under the charge of the keeper of such jail or public prison, or under the charge of such person as the keeper of such jail or public prison may select, be put to hard labor, as in the first section of this act specified; and such keeper or other person, having charge of such convict, shall cause such convict, while engaged at such labor, to be securely confined by a chain six feet in length, of not less than four-sixteenths nor more than three-eighths of an inch links, with a round ball of iron, of not less than four nor more than six inches in diameter, attached, which chain shall be securely fastened to the ankle of such convict with a strong lock and key; and such keeper or other person, having charge of such convict, may, if necessary, confine such convict, while so engaged in hard labor, by other chains or other means in his discretion, so as to keep such convict secure and prevent his escape; and when there shall be two or more convicts under the charge of such keeper, or other person, such convicts shall be fastened together by strong chains, with strong locks and keys, during the time such convicts shall be engaged in hard labor without the walls of any jail or prison.*

Such fellow-citizens, are some of the odious enactments put forth as *Laws*, by a set of men claiming to be a Legislature for Kansas, but who are proved by a Committee of Congress, to have been elected by a band of Ruffians living in the State of Missouri. And these enactments the Freemen of Kansas have not only been called upon to respect and obey; but when, as it was their duty to God and man to do, they refused obedience to mere edicts which had not even the *color* of law to command the respect of the people, the Executive of the United States has employed and countenanced the very Border Ruffians who elected this so-called Legislature, to drive from the Territory and shoot down and murder every American citizen who had the manhood to resist the most fearful tyranny that was ever attempted to be enforced upon an intelligent people. Resistance to tyranny, is, at all times and in all places, the most imperative duty of Freemen; but it was rendered still more imperatively the duty of our brethren in Kansas to resist what are falsely denominated the *Laws* of that Territory; because the same pretended Legislature which enacted those Laws, as they are called, not only adopted the entire code of Missouri as the Laws of Kansas, but passed test acts, the object of which was to disfranchise the freemen of that Territory, and forever prevent the repeal of the abominable laws which I have cited. By these test acts, no man is permitted to hold a seat in the Legislature of Kansas, until he has first taken a solemn oath "to support the provisions of an Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas"; or in other words, until he has solemnly sworn to stand by, and sustain the repeal of the Missouri Compromise! And what is still more significant and oppressive, no man is permitted to exercise the elective Franchise, unless he will first swear to sustain that most infamous

proceeding. I read to you from these odious Test Acts :

SEC. 11. \* \* *And provided further, That if any person offering to vote shall be challenged and required to take an oath or affirmation, to be administered by one of the judges of the election, that he will sustain the provisions of the above recited acts of Congress, and of the act entitled "An act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas", approved May 30, 1854, and shall refuse to take such oath or affirmation, the vote of such person shall be rejected.*

SEC. 12. Every person possessing the qualification of a vote, as hereinabove prescribed, and who shall have resided in this Territory thirty days prior to the election, at which he may offer himself as a candidate, shall be eligible as a delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, to either branch of the legislative assembly, and to all other offices in this Territory, not otherwise especially provided for: *provided, however, that each member of the legislative assembly, and every officer elected or appointed to office under the laws of this Territory, shall, in addition to the oath or affirmation specially provided to be taken by such officer, take an oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of the United States, the provisions of an act entitled "An act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters," approved February 12, 1793; and of an act to amend and supplementary to said last mentioned act, approved September 18, 1850; and of an act entitled "An Act to organize the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas," approved May 30, 1854.*

SEC. 13. No person who is conscientiously opposed to the holding slaves, or *who does not admit the right to hold slaves in this Territory*, shall be a juror in any cause in which the right to hold any person in Slavery is involved, nor in any cause in which any injury done to or committed by any slave is in issue, *nor in any criminal proceeding for the violation of any law, enacted for the protection of slave property, and for the punishment of crimes committed against the right to such property.*

In like manner, no person may practise Law in the Territory of Kansas, who will not first swear that he will sustain and support the repeal of the Missouri Compromise!

Fellow-citizens, I feel that it is somewhat tedious thus to examine into the character of the so-called Laws of Kansas, which the President of the United States, in obedience to the Slave power, is now enforcing with the army of the Union, in violation of every principle for which our fathers fought, and upon which our free institutions are based. But I stand here to address myself to your reason, and not to please your ears with well turned periods, and that eloquence which frequently excites when it does not convince. I stand here the advocate of right; and to maintain and justify the Freemen of Kansas in their resistance now and hereafter, to every jot and tittle of the so-called Laws of Kansas, enacted by a Legislature not elected by themselves, but by the people of Missouri. The tyrannical character of those Laws, not only justifies, but demands, resistance from Freemen; and when in addition, they have been proved to emanate from a body of men not elected by the people of Kansas, and certain provisions which disfranchise Freemen from taking any part in their repeal—to have acquiesced in them, would have been a crime



against Liberty, and have merited the condemnation of the whole American people. I stand here, fellow-citizens, to demand at your hands, justice for our brethren of Kansas, and it is only by demonstrating to you the extent of their grievances, that I can expect at the ballot-boxes in November, that united action against their oppressors, which can alone relieve them from the tyranny which they are suffering, and avert from our beloved country, the horrors of a widely extended civil war. I have placed before you faithfully, and as concisely as possible, a few only, of the so called Laws of Kansas, which the Freemen of that Territory have so manfully resisted; and which are now being enforced by the Executive of the Union, with the Army of the United States and the very Border Ruffians who have been the authors of all the murders and outrages perpetrated upon the defenceless people of Kansas in obedience to the Slaveocracy of the land.

Briefly, then, fellow-citizens, the case stands thus: Thirty-six years ago our fathers entered into a solemn compact with the Slave power, by which it was agreed, that Missouri should be admitted into the sisterhood of sovereign and independent States, with Slavery in her Constitution, on the express condition, that in consideration of her being so admitted, SLAVERY or involuntary servitude, should *forever be excluded* from all the territory of the Union lying North of 36° 30' of north latitude. CALHOUN and CLAY, and PINCKNEY and LOWNDES and LEE, were the immediate representatives of the South in this solemn compact, made for the preservation of the Constitution itself; and JEFFERSON, MADISON and MONROE, gave it their hearty approval, and hailed it as the harbinger of peace to a distracted country, and as securing to freedom and to free labor forever, the fertile region of the North West. When all these Patriots and their co-laborers at the North, had sunk into the grave—passed “to that bourne whence no traveller returns”—the Slaveocracy of the present day, in disregard of their plighted faith and in violation of every sentiment of honor and honesty, and aided by a handful of reckless and unprincipled Northern Demagogues, shamefully repealed the solemn compact of 1820; and by the Kansas-Nebraska act of 1854, actually legislated Slavery into the free territory of Kansas and robbed freedom of its portion of a compact, from which the Slaveocracy had already reaped all the fruit it was capable of yielding. But in perpetrating this gigantic fraud, in violation of the plighted faith of the nation, and against honor and honesty, the conspirators against Northern rights, Southern honor and national justice, were compelled to hold forth to the cheated and insulted freedom of the North, the plea, at least, that the people of the newly created Territory, should be permitted to determine for themselves the future character of their political institutions, by a free exercise of the elective franchise through the Ballot-box. But the plea was as false, as they themselves had been false to their plighted faith and to every sentiment of honor and honesty. They knew at the

time, that they had bribed the Executive power of the nation, to become their miserable tool in this deep laid scheme of Slavery-Extension, and that he would render absolutely void and of no effect, the pretended submission of the question of Slavery to the free will of the people of Kansas. They knew that FRANKLIN PIERCE and his co-laborers in the service of their Southern masters, would wield the Executive power of the nation against the interests and the Constitutional rights of freedom. And most faithfully has he executed his part of this dark and most iniquitous bargain. He promptly placed the Territory of Kansas into the hands of those who had already doomed that fair land to the blighting curse of Slavery; and when the freemen of the North came up to the rescue, and sought through the Ballot-Boxes, the preservation of the free soil of Kansas from the lash of the Negro-Driver and his reckless master, behold their trained bands, armed with Bowie-knives and Rifles, marching from Missouri into the newly acquired Territory, and with the connivance of the Executive of this great Republic, driving her citizens from the Polls and electing tools of their own, to constitute a Legislature for the government of Kansas! That Legislature, thus elected by men living in Missouri—as has been proved and solemnly proclaimed to the American People and to the world, by the House of Representatives of the United States—passed the infamous Laws to which I have called your attention; and then, to prevent the possibility of their repeal, they also enacted, that no person who would not swear to support and sustain the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, should be entitled to a seat in any future Legislature; and that every citizen of Kansas who would not take a similar oath of allegiance to the slave power, should be forever disfranchised! It is said that when LYCURGUS desired to perpetuate the laws of *Sparta*, he persuaded the people to swear obedience to them until his return; and then departed from among them and put an end to his existence. But the armed Ruffians from Missouri, knew no such disinterested devotion to their cause. They secured themselves against a repeal of their iniquitous and infamous enactments, by test oaths and the disfranchisement of all who loved freedom; and then returned to their homes, only to make a new inroad upon hapless Kansas, and enforce with the rifle and the bowie-knife, the tyrannical laws they had enacted. In that new inroad upon the defenceless people of Kansas, they had the connivance and the tacit approval, of a weak and venal Executive; and of his representatives, as reckless and even more wicked than their miserable master. With his and their sanction and connivance, armed bands of unprincipled Missouri robbers, swept over the ill-fated plains of Kansas; and robbery, rape, murder, and the torch of the incendiary, everywhere marked the devastating track of the characteristic agents of that reckless and unprincipled band of slaveholders, who commenced their foray upon freedom by a bold and shameful repudiation of honor and honesty, and the

plighted faith of the nation. Sustained in their fiendish work by the Federal Executive, and backed by a venal Judiciary and the Army, freedom has been temporarily crushed in Kansas, because her votaries have either been murdered or driven from her soil. And now, behold the miserable tool of that Executive, who is himself the pliant tool of the Slave power, calls upon the People of Kansas, to assemble at the Polls on Monday next, and go through the farce of electing a Delegate to Congress, and a Legislature in which none but a sworn friend of Slavery may take a seat, and the members of which, can only be voted for by white Slaves willing to swear before God and man, that they approve of, and will support the repeal of the Missouri Compromise!

Such, fellow-citizens, is the simple narrative of the facts in relation to the outrages upon Liberty in Kansas—perpetrated in your name and by your servants—in which none but a sworn friend of Slavery may take a seat, and the members of which, can only be voted for by white Slaves willing to swear before God and man, that they approve of, and will support the repeal of the Missouri Compromise!

And I now ask of you freemen of this great Northwest—men of Indiana, of Illinois, and of Wisconsin, now before me—I ask of you one and all, whether there has ever been proclaimed in any civilized country on the face of the globe, such infamous enactments against the liberties of man? And when we bear in mind that the wretches who passed these enactments—*Laws* they never were,—were elected by the Border Ruffians of Missouri to legislate for the Free People of Kansas, is it to be wondered at, that those patriots, breathing the air of freedom, and nurtured in the principle of our Revolution, have refused obedience to the so-called laws of this spurious and truly infamous body? Nay, would they not have been disgraced in the estimation of every man within the sound of my voice, and of every friend of civil and religious liberty throughout the world, if they had tamely yielded themselves the pliant instruments of such iniquitous legislation? And because they have refused such obedience to tyranny—because being free, they have asserted and maintained the rights of freemen—they have been shot down in cold blood, murdered in the public highways and in their beds, and had their dwellings burnt over their heads; and to complete their misery, have been doomed to see their wives and daughters ravished by the fiends in human form, who proclaim that their mission is “the extension of Slavery over the free soil of Kansas, and the expulsion therefrom, of every damned Yankee and Abolitionist who has dared to violate the Laws of the Territory by preaching in favor of Free soil, in defiance of their enactment punishing the offence with imprisonment and death”. Aye, fellow citizens, I assert on my responsibility as a man and a Christian, that there have been more murders, robberies, and rapes, committed by the minions of Pro-Slavery on the free soil of Kansas during the last eighteen months—and that too, with the connivance, both direct and indirect, of the Executive of the Nation and the Democratic Party—than were committed by the minions of George

the Third and his soldiery in these colonies, from 1774 till the close of our Revolutionary struggle. Yes, the sufferings of the free people of Kansas from the hands of the brutal agents of the Slave power, during eighteen months, and that, too, with the connivance of the President of the United States, exceed—very far exceed—all the suffering, oppression and outrages, which forced our fathers to take up arms against their Sovereign, and led to the Independence of the United States! And yet there has been no revolution—no driving from power and from his Presidential seat at Washington, the time-serving Executive who has countenanced these outrages on law, justice, and right—no appeal to arms by the people of the United States. And why? Because we love and cherish our Constitution and have unabated reliance in the omnipotence of the Ballot-Box. We are a law-abiding people; and we cherish above all things, the Constitution and its provisions for the redress of grievances. And it is for the purpose of securing that redress through the Ballot-Boxes in the approaching Presidential Election, that we are now assembled here, peaceably to take council one of another, how we may best and most certainly, arouse the people to the vindication of their liberties against those who have so shamefully trampled upon every thing we hold most sacred. Our Hearts bleed for the sufferings of our fellow-citizens of Kansas; and our blood boils with indignation and the desire to avenge their wrongs, when we think upon what they have suffered, and what they are destined still to suffer, before they will be permitted to live in safety, surrounded by free institutions in the land of the free. But I know that we have all of us resolved—firmly and unalterably resolved—and I desire to proclaim it here as I did from the National Convention of the Republican Party at Philadelphia; that even if we should be struck down in our appeal to the Ballot-Boxes, and cheated out of that Constitutional mode of redress by the employment of the People’s money and the People’s servants, to vote down the honest yeomanry of the country for the benefit of the Slave Power;—I say we are all resolved, that even in such a contingency, the Free People of Kansas shall never be subdued by the Border Ruffians of Missouri, backed by the Federal authority, into obedience to the infamous enactments of a so-called Legislature of Kansas, elected by the People of another State.

We revere the Constitution, and we will obey and maintain the Laws—be they good or bad; and we will if needs be, freely shed our blood in preserving to our Southern brethren all their vested rights in relation to Slavery where it now exists; but we will never stand tamely by, and see our brethren in Kansas, forced to obey the enactments of a band of Ruffians, in whose election they were not permitted to take part, and which punish with imprisonment and death, freedom of speech and the avowal of attachment to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. No, never, never, never; and I now repeat what I said in the National Convention assembled in Philadelphia, and which has been so basely



perverted for the basest of Party purposes. I then said and I now repeat, that "we shall appeal to the Ballot-Box and seek by the election of a Republican President, to arrest the civil war now raging in Kansas. And if we fail in this, what then? Will we consent to see our free-soil brethren in Kansas, forced to yield obedience to enactments which are not Laws, or be driven from the Territory and murdered by a band of Ruffians acting with the connivance of the Executive of the United States? Never, Never; but we will drive back the oppressors, sword in hand; and so help me God, *believing that to be right, I am with them.*"

Aye, such was my declaration before the most august assemblage which ever convened on this Continent, save that which put forth our Declaration of Independence; and for making it, I have been abused and slandered, as few men living have had poured upon them the wrath and indignation of the Slave power. On the floor of Congress, in the Press, and from the stump, the vials of their wrath have been let loose upon me; and my language and my purpose, have been distorted into every form which falsehood and malignity could devise. But I stand here to-day, before you my fellow-citizens of the great North-West, and in the presence of my God, reiterating every word and every sentiment I uttered at Philadelphia; and ready when the time shall arrive, which may God in his mercy avert, to carry into execution my purpose, then and now, fearlessly proclaimed. And fellow citizens of the North-West, when that time comes—as come it surely will if the African Democracy of our country are permitted to triumph in the approaching battle for freedom—I expect of you a cordial and united co-operation. [*At this appeal, the forty thousand freemen who were listening to the wrongs of Kansas, sent forth a united shout of approval, with the cry "we are all with them"—we are all ready to do battle for the freedom of Kansas. "God bless the freemen of Kansas."*]

I thank you fellow-citizens for this endorsement of an honest purpose frankly expressed; and now that the Slave power know precisely what I did say at Philadelphia, in all its length and breadth, let them make the most of it; and let our brethren in Kansas, take heart, and feel assured, that it is not the intention of the Freemen of the United States calmly to stand by and witness a continuation of their wrongs. Like good citizens, we intend in the first place, to seek redress through the Ballot-boxes; and failing in that, we will then say to a corrupt Government:—"We respect and will obey the laws; but at your peril, dare to enforce upon our brethren of Kansas the odious edicts of the Slave Ruffians of Missouri, without the color of law, and in violation of every principle of the Constitution, and we will imitate our fathers of old, and appeal to arms and to the God of battles for the vindication of the great principle, that no obedience can ever be due to laws in the enactment of which the people have not been immediately or remotely, directly or indirectly, represented?"

It is the duty of every freeman throughout this broad land—I care not whether his lot has been cast in the North or the South, in the East or in the West—to stand by the principles of the Constitution, and by all the laws passed in conformity with its provisions. And in the discharge of that duty, the people of every section, are bound to render obedience to the Kansas-Nebraska Law, infamous as it has been declared to be by nine-tenths of the people of the land, because of its deliberate violation of the plighted faith of the Southern States, and its incendiary attempt to extend the Institution of Slavery into the free Territories of the Union by the direct legislation of Congress. I counsel no resistance to that Law. Under the law itself, faithfully administered by an honest Executive, Kansas would now have been a free and sovereign State of this glorious Union; because that Law, vile as it is, gives equal rights to all, and promises to every inhabitant of the Territory, the free exercise of the elective franchise. In obedience to its provisions, freemen made their homes in Kansas; and determined by their votes, to make it the land of the free, whence the blighting curse of the South should forever be excluded, and the free laborer of the North be protected against the contaminating and demoralizing contact of African Slavery. But a corrupt and unscrupulous Executive, in obedience to the demands of the Slave-power, bartered away the freedom of Kansas for a re-nomination to the Presidency; and in pursuance of the infamous bargain, winked at, and encouraged the Border Ruffians of Missouri in violating the Free soil of Kansas, and with bowie-knives and rifles, driving her freemen from the polls and then electing creatures of their own, to accomplish the infamous purpose of making her a Slave State. Against this treason to the Constitution—this deliberate violation of a law of the land—this conspiracy with the Slave-power against the Free North—the people of the non-slaveholding States, have arisen in their majesty and demanded redress. For this great and good, and holy purpose, we are assembled here this day; and at the hazard of being tedious, I must now endeavor to demonstrate to you what must be the inevitable consequences, now and through all future time, if you fail in your duty to yourselves, to your country, and to posterity, and permit the Institution of Slavery to be extended into and over the territory of the Union so solemnly devoted to freedom by the great Compromise of our fathers made thirty-six years ago.

I stand not here to war against Slavery as an abstract question, but against its extension into Territory now free. You and I might differ in our estimate of Slavery in its bearing upon the condition of the negro, because I hold that the race is far better cared for in their existing bondage South of 36° 30', than they could care for themselves in a state of freedom in the midst of six millions of the white man. I leave that question therefore, to others, and to that all-wise Providence whose ways are inscrutable to man; and desire to speak of Slavery, only in its relations to those who hold the negro in bon-



dage, and to its unmitigated curse upon the region where it exists. Thank God it is a mere local institution, and exclusively under the control of those who have inherited this curse from our mother country, and against which the colonies from time to time remonstrated; and the existence of which among us, in opposition to our feelings and wishes, was made by JEFFERSON one of the causes of our rebellion in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence. We of the North-East, have, by the blessing of God, rid ourselves of this great evil; and you of the North-West, are indebted to the horror with which JEFFERSON, WASHINGTON, MADISON, MONROE and their fellow patriots of the South, looked upon the demoralizing tendency of this blighting curse, for the ordinance of 1787, which forever exempted from involuntary servitude all this vast region lying North and West of the Ohio. If it be not then against Slavery itself, that I wage war—if I do not ask of you to interfere with the institution where it constitutionally exists, or seek to prejudice you against its existence there; but on the contrary, if in the name of the great Republican Party of the country, I stand here, in defence of our brethren of the South against the handful of abolitionists who would interfere with their constitutional rights, and seek only, to accomplish what our fathers prescribed in the ordinance of 1787 and the Compromise of 1820, re-enacted by Southern votes in 1841, and recognised by the whole country in 1850—if I only war against Slavery-extension as our fathers of old guarded against it, because of its demoralizing influences upon the white race—surely the South, the descendants of those who remonstrated with England against this curse in 1760 to '75, and who prohibited its extension into the Northwestern Territory in 1787, and who, in 1820, solemnly covenanted that it should not be extended North of 36° 30', have no just cause of complaint against us for humbly walking in their footsteps.

Now then, fellow-citizens, our purpose being to oppose the extension of the Institution of Slavery into the Free Territories of the Union, on the ground that it is a curse to every country where it is introduced, and that it demoralizes the white race among whom it exists, and degrades free labor and the free laborer to the level of slave-labor and the slave, let us examine the testimony of Southern gentlemen of unquestionable honor and patriotism, in regard to the justice of our position and the imperative moral obligation under which we are acting.

To begin then, with the immortal WASHINGTON, himself. He is said to have been present at, and participated in the meeting of Freeholders of St. George's County in Virginia, in July, 1774, who, in their remonstrance against the conduct of the British crown in fostering the Slave trade in opposition to the feelings of the Colonies, used this language:

"The African trade is injurious to the Colony, because it *obstructs the population of it by freemen, prevents manufacturers and other useful people from settling, and occasions an annual increase in the balance of trade against this Colony*".

In a letter written by WASHINGTON to ROBERT MORRIS, (see Sparks' Washington,) he says:

"I can only say, THERE IS NOT A MAN LIVING WHO WISHES MORE SINCERELY THAN I DO, TO SEE A PLAN ADOPTED FOR THE ABOLITION OF IT (SLAVERY) but there is only one proper and effectual mode in which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, so far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting".

Again, in his celebrated letter to Sir JOHN SINCLAIR, in relation to investments in the United States, he claims that because Virginia will certainly abolish Slavery, investments in her lands will pay as well as if made in the free territory of Pennsylvania. He says:

"There are in Pennsylvania laws for the gradual abolition of Slavery, which neither Virginia nor Maryland have at present, but which *nothing is more certain than they must have, and at a period not remote*".

JAMES MADISON of Virginia, in the Convention which framed our Constitution, made it a *sine qua non* that the word slave or slavery, should not appear in the Constitution; so that when abolished, as he looked forward to its being at an early day, the record might not be sullied by the admission that such a *curse* had ever existed amongst us. His voice was listened to; and you will look in vain through our Constitution for the word "Slave" or "Slavery". In Congress in 1789, this great patriot and statesman used the following language:

"Every addition the States receive to their number of slaves tends to weaken and render them less capable of self defence. In case of hostilities with foreign nations, they will be the means of inviting attack instead of repelling invasion. It is a necessary duty of the General Government to protect every part of their confines against dangers, as well internal as external. Everything, therefore, which tends to increase danger, *though it be a local affair, yet, if it involves national expense or safety, becomes of concern to every part of the Union, and is a proper subject for the consideration of those charged with the general administration of the Government*".

"I HOLD IT ESSENTIAL IN EVERY POINT OF VIEW, THAT THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE POWER TO PREVENT THE INCREASE OF SLAVERY".—*Madison Papers, Vol. III. p. 1391.*

"The augmentation of Slaves weakens the States, and such a trade is diabolical in itself, and disgraceful to mankind. As much as I value a union of these States, I would not admit the Southern States into the Union, unless they agree to a discontinuance of this disgraceful trade".—*In Const. Convention, 1786.*

Here was a direct appeal to Congress to interfere with the local institution of Slavery as it exists in the States, because it is dangerous to the national welfare! Such language held in the Southern country at this day, would find its reward in a halter and suspension to the nearest tree, convenient for the vindication of the chivalry of that region. And yet this is the identical JAMES MADISON who is ever appealed to as the great expounder of the Constitution of which he was the most active framer.

Now then, for the sentiments of THOMAS JEFFERSON, the author of the Declaration of Independence; and from time immemorial, the great head of the Democracy of the country. You all know that in

that great protest against the wrongs inflicted by the mother country he puts forth the remarkable declaration that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness". But this is said by the Slaveocracy, to be only "an abstraction"—a "rhetorical flourish". Let us, therefore, listen to what he said in a letter to JOHN HOLMES on the 20th April, 1820, and leave to the advocates of Slavery-extension, the task of explaining it away. Mr. JEFFERSON says:

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. \* \* \* *With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed.* Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! THE ALMIGHTY HAS NO ATTRIBUTE WHICH CAN TAKE SIDE WITH US IN SUCH A CONTEST."

\* \* \* \* \*

"I can say with conscious truth that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach in any practicable way. The cession of *that kind of property*, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle, which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be."

So much for THOMAS JEFFERSON, of Virginia, and the great oracle of Democracy by which HENRY A. WISE and his brother Virginians, have been wont to swear. Now listen to the testimony of the Hon. GEORGE MASON, of the same State; of whom Judge BUTLER, of South Carolina, recently said on the floor of the Senate, that "he was one of the wisest "one of the most sagacious, and one of the firmest "statesmen that Virginia ever bred, or that ever "deliberated in the councils of his time." GEORGE MASON says: .

"*Slavery discourages arts and manufactures.* The slaves produce the most pernicious effects on *manners*. EVERY MASTER OF SLAVES IS BORN A PETTY TYRANT. THEY BRING THE JUDGMENT OF HEAVEN UPON A COUNTRY. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities".

Now, what said HENRY CLAY of Kentucky, himself a Slave-holder, as was WASHINGTON, and JEFFERSON, and MADISON?

"*Slavery is a practical war against the rights of man*".—*Letter to Citizens of New Orleans.*

"And now, sir, coming from a Slave State, as I do, I owe it to myself, I owe it to truth, I owe it to the subject, to say that *no earthly power could induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of Slavery, where it had not before existed, either south or north of the Missouri Compromise line*".—*Speech on the Compromises in the Senate, 1850*

"If slaves are voluntarily carried into such a jurisdiction [where Slavery does not exist] *their chains instantly drop off, and they become free, emancipated liberated from their bondage.*"—*Ibid.*

And in the same great speech when contending for the binding efficacy of the Missouri Compromise, and repudiating the idea of ever suffering Slavery to dishonor and contaminate one square foot of land, conquered from Mexico and which was free territory, he said:

*But if unhappily, we should be involved in war, in a civil war, between the two parts of this Confederacy, in which the efforts upon the one side should be to restrain the introduction of Slavery into new Territories, and upon the other side to force its introduction there. WHAT A SPECTACLE SHOULD WE PRESENT TO THE ASTONISHMENT OF MANKIND, IN AN EFFORT, NOT TO PROPAGATE RIGHTS, BUT—I must say, though I trust it will be understood to be said with no design to excite feeling—A WAR TO PROPAGATE WRONGS IN THE TERRITORIES THUS ACQUIRED FROM MEXICO. It would be a war in which we should have no sympathies, no good wishes; in which all mankind would be against us; in which our own history itself would be against us; for from the commencement of the Revolution down to the present time, we have constantly reproached our British ancestors for the introduction of Slavery into this country. And allow me to say that, in my opinion, it is one of the best defences which can be made to preserve the institution of Slavery in this country, that it was forced upon us against the wishes of our ancestors, of our own American Colonial ancestors, and by the cupidity of our British commercial ancestors.*"—[Speech on the Compromise Acts of 1850.

Ponder well fellow-citizens upon these dying words of the immortal CLAY, and ask yourselves what would be his position were he now here. No, you need not do that. Had he lived—he or any of his great co-laborers who formed the Compromise of 1820—the pigmy politicians and dirty demagogues who repealed that great compact in defence of freedom, would never have dared lay hands upon it or even suggested its repeal. While CLAY and WEBSTER lived, the mousing politicians and their dishonored associates in violating the plighted faith of the South, skulked from the light of day; and it was only when the grave closed over all who made the great Compromise of 1820, that they dared to assail it, and by its repeal, bring upon the South dishonor, and upon the whole land the existing fearful agitation.

Next to JEFFERSON and MADISON, it may be said with truth, that no man exercised a greater influence in the councils of the country, than did WILLIAM PICKNEY of Maryland, in 1789. Listen to an extract from his letter to the Maryland Legislature in that year—himself a slaveholder:

"*Never will your country be productive, never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish, so long as they depend on reluctant bondmen for their progress.* 'Even the very earth,' says Montesquieu; 'which teems with profusion under the cultivating hand of the free born laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave.' *This sentiment is not more figuratively beautiful than it is just.*"

And MARSHALL, in a speech to the Virginia Legislature, bears this testimony to the character of Slavery in its effects and influences upon the State where it exists.

"*Slavery is ruinous to the whites, retards improvements, roots out our industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country, deprives the spinner,*



*the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support.* This evil admits no remedy; it is increasing, and will continue to increase until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave, covering the whole extent, with a few white faces floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is invested in human flesh. The father, *instead of being richer for his sons*, is at a loss how to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupations—no incentive to enterprise.—LABOR OF EVERY SPECIES IS DISREPUTABLE, because performed by slaves. *Our towns are stationary, our villages everywhere declining, and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil and care not how much it is impoverished.*"

In the Convention held in Virginia for the ratification of the Constitution, Mr. JOHNSON spoke as follows—evidently looking to an early emancipation of the Slaves, as did WASHINGTON.

"They tell us that they see a progressive danger of bringing about emancipation. The principle has begun since the Revolution. Let us do what we will, it will come round. *Slavery has been the foundation of much of that impiety and dissipation which have been so much disseminated among our countrymen. If it were totally abolished it would do much good.*"

Mr. BOLLINGBROKE, of Buckingham county, Virginia, in Convention in 1832, said:

"Sir, *that it is an evil, a great and appalling evil, I dare believe no sane man will or can deny.* Nor, sir, can it be denied, that it deprives us of many of those advantages, facilities, and blessings which we should enjoy had we a more dense white population. That it is a BLIGHTING, WITHERING CURSE UPON THIS LAND, is clearly demonstrated by this very discussion itself.

"Notwithstanding Eastern gentlemen have waxed so warm, there are many, very many, in Eastern Virginia who would rather resign their slaves gratuitously than submit to the ills of Slavery; many who would rather turn them loose and leave them behind, while they seek a happier clime—a land alike a stranger to slaves and Slavery."

Mr. BERRY, of Jefferson county, Va., said:

"Sir, I believe that *no cancer on the physical body was ever more certain, steady and fatal in its progress than is this cancer on the political body of the State of Virginia.* I admit that we are not to be blamed for the origin of this evil among us; we are not to be blamed for its existence now; but we shall deserve the severest censure if we do not take measures, as soon as possible, to remove it."

And in support of this position of things—in corroboration of the assertion that Slavery is a "BLIGHTING CURSE", and should never be extended into territory where it does not exist, the Hon. J. C. FAULKNER, of Virginia, a member of the present Congress, and Chairman of the Slaveocracy's National Executive Committee for the election of JAMES BUCHANAN to the Presidency and the extension of Slavery into the free Territories of the Union—held on the same occasion, the following emphatic language. Compare this, fellow-citizens, with his present labors to extend into free territory this very institution, in relation to which he so recently said—"*Must the country languish, droop, die, that the Slaveholder may flourish?*" Mr. FAULKNER said in convention:

"The idea of a gradual emancipation and removal of the slaves from this Commonwealth is coeval with

the declaration of your independence of the British yoke. It sprung into existence during the first session of the General Assembly, subsequent to the formation of your Republican Government. It was proper; there was a fitness of things in the fact that so beneficent an object as the plan for the gradual extinction of Slavery in this State should have been the twin offspring of that mind which gave birth to the bill of rights, and to the act for religious freedom. A fact so honorable to the public spirit and humanity of that age, so worthy of the genius and expanded philanthropy of those with whom it originated, cannot be too often recurred to, nor too proudly cherished. Slavery, it is admitted, is an evil. It is an institution which presses heavily against the best interests of the State. It banishes free white labor; it exterminates the mechanic, the artisan, the manufacturer; it deprives them of occupation; it deprives them of bread; it converts the energy of a community into indolence, its power into imbecility, its efficiency into weakness. Sir, being thus injurious have we not a right to demand its extermination? Shall society suffer that the slaveholder may continue to gather his crop of human flesh? What is his mere pecuniary claim compared with the great interests of the common weal? Must the country languish, droop, die, that the slaveholder may flourish? Shall all interests be subservient to one—all rights subordinate to those of the slaveholder? Has not the mechanic, have not the middle classes, their rights—rights incompatible with the existence of Slavery?"

And now, one more quotation and I have done. And I intend to bring to the witness stand he, who for a quarter of a century, was known as the "Northern man with Southern Principles"—Ex-President MARTIN VAN BUREN. And so he was, just so long as "Southern principles" could be made available to his political advancement. They made him President in 1836; and of course "Southern principles" were then his admiration. But in 1844, the South did not consider him an available candidate for the Presidency; and because they nominated another for the Executive Chair, MARTIN of Kinderhook, all at once discovered, that he had a set of "Northern principles" which might be made available. He therefore, took the field as a candidate for the Presidency, in opposition to his Southern friends; and he and his hopeful son, made such solemn asseverations of their honesty, that the American people began to think, that for once, both father and son were truthful and honest. I thought so then, and I think so now; and whatever may have been the inducement for Father and Son to repudiate now, all they said in 1848, I believe that they were then sincere in their declaration of attachment to the cause of Free Soil; and, consequently, I quote from MARTIN VAN BUREN's letter accepting the Free Soil nomination for the Presidency, the following emphatic paragraphs:

"In regard to the chief topic of the resolutions, it is not to be doubted that the present unprecedented movement of the public mind in the non-slaveholding States, upon the subject of Slavery, is caused mainly by an earnest desire to uphold and enforce the policy in regard to it, *established by the founders of the Republic.* That policy, in addition to the prospective prohibition of the foreign slave trade, was:

"Adequate, efficient, and certain security AGAINST THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY INTO TERRITORIES WHERE IT DID NOT PRACTICALLY EXIST."



That no doubt, came from the Heart; and could the truth be known, it is unquestionably, one of the few sentiments ever put forth by the "great Magician", in which the simple truth was permitted to escape him. But alas, like the swine that has been washed, he has returned to his wallowing in the mire; and all who love their country, will mourn with me, that standing as he does, on the verge of the grave, he could not have been gathered to his fathers without this dishonor falling upon one who has filled with credit, the most exalted station in the world—the Chief-Magistracy of this Mighty Republic. As for his hopeful son, who, in 1848, stood side by side with his venerable father, and called down upon himself "*a quick and fearful damnation*", if he ever swerved from the great task of resisting the extension of Slavery into Free Territory, the last I heard of him, he was standing on this spot ten days since, and urging upon the people of Indiana, the justice, the policy, and the necessity of *Slavery extension for the preservation of the Union*, and the success of the *African Democracy*! Verily, blood will tell in man as well as animals. True to its instincts, the father has become what was a stern necessity from his origin; and the son has proved himself the *natural* offspring of the father. But their testimony in behalf of our cause in 1848, cannot be weakened by their unscrupulous abandonment of it at this crisis, under circumstances which will forever cover them with infamy and render their names a byword and reproach through all future time.

And now fellow-citizens, you have Slavery and its inevitable consequences, depicted to you by those who were born and lived amid its influences; and most of whom, have been gathered to their rest after bequeathing to you their solemn warning against the extension of this plague-spot over the free and virgin soil of the great West. And how do you like the picture? Is it one which will make you love the institution more, now that it is proposed to bring it to your own doors, and to place the labor of the stolid African side by side and on an equality, with the free labor of your wives, your sons and your daughters? When the Creator doomed ADAM and his race, to cultivate the earth, he gave dignity to labor, and honored with his choicest blessings from that time forth to the present, the honest, free-born, and independent cultivator of the soil. The Almighty Father of the Universe, became himself the companion and councillor of those who labored upon the earth; and by his signal marks of approbation bestowed upon the husbandman, he made him what he now is, and will forever continue to be where His Word is made the rule of action—the noblest, the purest, and the most honored and respected of the human race. Such is man in the free cultivation of the soil, without aught created, to stand between him and his Maker; and reverently looking up from Nature unto Nature's God. But place along side of him the African Bondman—the Negro Slave of the African Democracy! and what then? Let WASHINGTON, and JEFFERSON, and MAD-

SON, and CLAY, and all the great and wise and good men of our country, who have been born, and lived, and died amid the Institution of Slavery—let them tell the tale. Let the abject condition of the six millions of non-slaveholding whites now in the Slave States, who are in every respect worse off than the negro—let them answer my question.

Fellow citizens, you cannot possibly conceive the condition of the slave region of our country, unless you visit it, and become an eye-witness of the idleness, wastefulness, ignorance, vice and moral degradation, which everywhere pervade a population of nine million and a half of human beings who possess immortal souls and are responsible here and hereafter, for their conduct. Of these, three millions are Slaves, six millions non-slaveholding Whites, and *only three hundred and seventy-five thousand slaveholders, including men women and children*. Of this number, only fifty thousand, hold ten slaves and upwards; and this mere handful of aristocratic masters, hold in slavery the three millions of Africans, and in a far more degrading bondage, the six millions of non-slaveholding whites. The condition of these whites is far worse than that of the Negro himself; and it is the interest of the slaveholder that it should be. They are too poor to hold land or to work it, because the Institution of Slavery requires broad fields and large capital for its existence and preservation; and consequently, the white poor man, becomes a laborer alongside of the African Slave, and absolutely degenerates into a more miserable and dependent class than the Negro himself. This is no imaginary picture. There are those here, who will bear witness to the truth of what I say; and I hold in my hand a letter from that venerable Democrat, FRANCIS P. BLAIR, himself a slave-holder, in relation to this all-important matter, which should be printed in letters of gold, and hung up in every dwelling in the land, north of Mason & Dixon's line, and of 36° 30' North. He shows conclusively, that the presence of Slavery, has reduced this large class of free whites in the Slave States, to a condition far below the slave in morals, habits, and comforts; and that so thorough is their debasement, that the project is now openly discussed of making them slaves, in order to *elevate* them to the moral condition of the Negro! Governor HAMMOND, of South Carolina, said of these non-slaveholding whites:—"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often, by what is in its effects, far worse—trading with slaves, and inducing them to plunder for their benefit". Mr. FARREN, another Southern writer, says:—"In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess generally, but very small means; and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil being in the possession of the slave-holder must forever remain out of the possession of those who have none".

Mr. WILLIAM GEARY of South Carolina, treating

upon the same subject, says, that "any man who is an observer of things, could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact, that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence are employed, in directing slave labor; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure".

Recollect, fellow-citizens, that there are no less than six millions of non-slaveholding whites in the Southern country, of whom at least *five millions* are represented to be more vicious, more demoralized, and less capable of securing the necessary means of existence from day to day, than is the negro whose bondage has produced this fearful state of things,—and all to give political power and social position to three hundred and fifty thousand slave holders of the South! And now that evil has grown to an extent which induces the Slaveocracy to apprehend an uprising of this down trodden mass of white population, what think you is the remedy devised for their relief? Why simply, to make SLAVES of them! Startle not. I stand here, speaking to you great and solemn truths, upon which I ask freedom to base their action in the coming Presidential contest; and I dare not if I would, say one word or utter one sentiment, which I would not reiterate on my dying bed. Listen then, to what a leading Southern author says, in his recent work upon "the failure of free society". Mr. GEORGE FITZHUGH in his book printed at Richmond and entitled "Sociology for the South in the Failure of Free Society", holds the following language:

"But for Christianity, *Free Society* would be a wider cess of crime; and Christianity has not fair play and a proper field of action, where Government has failed to institute the *peace-begetting and protective influence of DOMESTIC SLAVERY*".

"Make the laboring man the slave of one man, instead of the slave of society, and he would be far better off." "Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Say the Abolitionists, 'Man ought not to have property in man.' What a dreary, cold, bleak, inhospitable world this would be, with such doctrine carried into practice!" \* \* \* "Slavery has been too universal not to be necessary to nature, and man struggles in vain against nature." \* \* \* "Free society is a failure. We slaveholders say, you must recur to domestic slavery, the oldest, the best, and the most common form of socialism."

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery the healthy, beautiful, and natural being which they are trying unconsciously to adopt. "The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed. Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better."

"We do not adopt the theory that Ham was the ancestor to the negro race. The Jewish slaves were not negroes; and to confine the justification of slavery to that race, would be to weaken its Scriptural authority, and to lose the whole weight of profane authority—for we read of no negro slavery in an-

cient times." \* \* \* "Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary."

"Nature has made the weak in mind or body, slaves." \* \* \* "The wise and virtuous, the brave, the strong in mind and body, are born to command."

"Men are not born entitled to equal rights. It would be far nearer the truth to say, that 'some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them—and the riding does them good. 'They need the reins, the bit, and the spur.' 'Life and Liberty are not inalienable.' The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false, and abominably fallacious."

And the doctrines of this book are supported by the great organs of the *African Democracy* of the South—the *Richmond Examiner* and *Richmond Enquirer*. Listen to the *Richmond Enquirer*:

"Until recently, the defence of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists—for they were merely apologists—took half-way ground. They confined the defence of slavery to *mere negro slavery*, thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong; and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices, and experience of mankind. Human experience, showing the *universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society*, was unavailing to them, because they were precluded from employing it, by admitting Slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The defence of mere negro slavery involved them in still greater difficulty. *The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding of white men in slavery*, provided that through the mother they were descended, however remotely, from a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory, were wrongfully held in Slavery."

"The line of defence, however, is changed now, and the North is completely cornered and dumb as an oyster. *The South now maintains that Slavery is right, natural and necessary*. It shows that all divine, and almost all human, authority, justifies it. The South further charges, that the little experiment of *free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning, a cruel failure*, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our North. While it is far more obvious that negroes be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor, not to direct—yet the *principle of Slavery is in itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion*".

[From the *Richmond Examiner*.]

"This agitation has produced one happy effect, at least—it has compelled us of the South to look into the nature and character of this great Institution, and to correct many false impressions that even we had entertained in relation to it. Many in the South once believed that it was a moral and political evil. That folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world. It is impossible, with us, that the conflict can take place between labor and capital, which makes it so difficult to establish and maintain free institutions in all wealthy and highly civilized nations where such institutions as ours do not exist."

I have thus proved to you fellow-citizens, from Southern testimony, first, that Slavery demoralizes everything with which it comes in contact; and secondly, that placed along side of Slave labor, the labor of the free white man necessarily sinks at once to its level, and being unprotected by capital and combination, gradually sinks far *below* the level of negro labor, with the loss of social position and the gradual but inevitable loss of the means of independence. De-



prived of education and all moral power, the loss of political power necessarily follows; and ultimately, the natural and only remedy is, to make slaves of the free white man, whose numbers make them dangerous to the safety of the aristocratic community in which they exist. This is not the work of a single generation; but you have only to read the publications of the day, to become satisfied, that this is precisely the present position of the Slave States; and that their only remedy for the consequences of Slavery upon white labor, is ultimately, *to make slaves of those who are thus unfitted for any other position.* And with these facts before you—with the clearest and most irrefragable evidence in your possession, that the presence of Slavery in the free Territories of the West, must inevitably reduce the future white laborers of that region to the abject and degrading condition of the five millions of whites at the South—fit only to be enslaved,—I submit to you the question, whether you will by your votes, or by tamely suffering Kansas to become a Slave State, bring this great curse upon your descendants—upon *our* descendants? Yes fellow-citizens, *our* descendants? For with however much of prosperity you or I may now be blest, we should be faithless to ourselves and unworthy the education which we have enjoyed, if we could not judge of the future by the past, and plainly perceive, that our descendants of the second, third, and fourth generations, and their descendants forever, must, with few exceptions, find their homes in this same great western region of our continent, and earn their subsistence by the sweat of the brow. We are in fact, but trustees for them; and the question is now distinctly presented to us, whether we will faithfully execute our trust and preserve for free labor and for our descendants forever, free, and happy, and respectable homes in this great region—homes such as you now possess, surrounded by the blessings of Civil and Religious Liberty, under institutions of which you constitute the basis and which are moulded at your pleasure—or whether you will admit the blighting curse of Slavery there, and make it and its fearful consequences, the inheritance of your children? Dare you do this? Is there a man among you, who recognizing his obligations as a Christian, and his duty to those who won for us our liberties, and gave us freedom and a free and generous soil to till in all the majesty of freemen standing erect before their God—is there one of you, I ask, who, in remembrance of what he has inherited, and his duty to transmit that inheritance unimpaired to his posterity—is there a solitary voter in this vast assemblage, who is capable of reflecting upon the past and the future, and yet in repudiation of all his obligations both to God and man, will dare to go to the polls on the 4th of November and cast his ballot for the ticket of the *African Democracy* and the extension of African Slavery into Territory now free?

I leave this question to be answered by your consciences now, and by your votes on the day of election. I have said that we are joint trustees of this

great inheritance; but there is this marked difference between you of the West and we of the East. You are the acting parties in the trust. Our duty is the same; but you are here on the spot, to enforce the provisions of the great trust confided to us; and we who are distant from the scene, are only called upon to lend our aid when you shall find it necessary for your success. On you, therefore, more especially, has devolved the great task of now and forever excluding Slavery from this great region so solemnly devoted to freedom in 1820; and if you fail in your duty, or if we fail in backing you in the fearless discharge of it, God preserve us from the execration of Freemen throughout the world and from the curses of the unborn millions of our own loins, whom we shall thus have doomed to a slavery, which in its tendencies, destroys alike the soul and the body of its victims. Already the Slaveocracy see at hand the hour of their triumph and of our degradation; and in the exultation of anticipated victory, one of their leading organs impudently exclaims:

“Free Society! We sicken of the name. What is it but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moonstruck theorists? All the northern, and especially the New England States, are devoid of society fitted for a well-bred gentleman. The prevailing class one meets with, is that of mechanics struggling to be genteel, and small farmers who do their own drudgery; and yet who are *hardly fit for association with a Southern gentleman's body servant.* This is your *free society* which the Northern hordes are endeavoring to extend into Kansas”.

Fellow-Citizens, you were told from this stand a few days ago, and will be told again, that there was no wrong committed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, because it was *unconstitutional*. Now, if it were true, that that compromise was unconstitutional, it would in no wise lessen the extent of the wrong done, or relieve the perpetrators of that infamous act, from one iota of the deep damnation which they have so justly invoked from every honest and honorable man throughout the civilized world, who has heard of that Robber act. Constitutional or not, it was a compact to which honorable men pledged themselves and their descendants forever. It existed unviolated for thirty-four years; and then, when the South had reaped all the benefits which it could confer, and the North was about to partake of what had so solemnly been promised them, behold that very South violated their plighted faith and the plighted faith of their fathers. As a question of morals only, there is deep disgrace and abiding dishonor, now and through all time, in that most iniquitous repeal of an honorary arrangement.

But as regards the constitutionality of the Compromise of 1820. How was the Constitution itself formed? In what had it its origin, if not in Compromise? Our fathers then, as their descendants now, abominated Slavery and its attendant curses; but foreseeing the great blessings inseparable from UNION, they sacrificed their hostility to the impudent and arrogant demands of the South in relation to Slavery being represented in Congress,



and *compromised* the whole difficulty, by stipulating that the African Slave trade should cease in 1808, and providing that instead of each Slave being counted in the basis of representation, *three-fifths only*, of their number, should be estimated. Here then, we have the example of *compromise* in the very formation of the Constitution itself. And what was almost the very first act of the first session of the first Congress, that assembled under that Constitution? Why, the ordinance of 1787, drawn by JEFFERSON himself, solemnly covenanting that Slavery and involuntary servitude, be excluded forever, from the very spot upon which we are now assembled, and from the whole of this glorious region lying north and West of the Ohio River! And in favor of this great Compromise—this noble tribute to freedom, every Member of the Senate and House of Representatives belonging to the South, gave their vote of approbation. Was that Ordinance unconstitutional? Has any Demagogue, either of the North or the South, ever ventured to declare the Ordinance of 1787, an unconstitutional act? And yet, wherein does it differ from the act of 1820? The one, admitted to be *Constitutional*, excluded Slavery forever, from all this region of country lying North and West of the Ohio; and the other, denounced as *unconstitutional*, in like manner excluded Slavery forever, from all the Territory of the confederacy lying North of 36° 30' of North Latitude. The language and the purpose, are precisely the same in both enactments; and no greater absurdity was ever devised, that the miserable plea of the dishonored and degraded tricksters, who voted to rob freedom of her share of the great Compromise of 1820, by pretending to consider the measure unconstitutional. Unconstitutional! Why, was it not entered into to preserve the Constitution itself? and but for its enactment, there is good reason to believe that there would have been no Constitution, and no Union to be preserved by these great Compromises, made in 1787 and re-enacted in 1820;—made first at the adoption of the Constitution, then in the ordinance of 1787, then again, in the great Missouri Compromise of 1820; and re-enacted by a united Southern and Slave vote in the admission of Texas into the Union in 1845. Constitutional always, when its object was to benefit and extend the institution of Slavery; and *un-Constitutional* only, when by such a miserable plea, freedom can be robbed of its just rights, and the free soil of the Union be sacrificed to the blighting curse of Slavery and the moral degradation it brings in its train.

But not content with declaring the Compromise of 1820, and even the Constitution itself, unconstitutional, we find an Ex-President of the United States, MILLARD FILLMORE, himself a candidate for the Executive chair, deliberately declaring, that if a Constitutional majority of all the people of the United States, shall presume to give their votes for JOHN C. FREMONT, instead of JAMES BUCHANAN or his precious self, it will be good and justifiable cause for the South to secede from the Union; and that in such contingency, they *should* secede, and thus break up and scatter to the winds of Heaven, every vestige of

that great work of our revolutionary sires, which has been alike the boast and admiration of the lovers of freedom in both Hemispheres. Aye, a candidate for the Presidency dares to preach this treason against the Union—against freedom—against civil and Religious Liberty throughout the world!—for once destroy this noble Union—this great Republic consecrated to freedom by the blood of Patriots—and where on the face of the habitable globe, is man to look for that liberty of speech and of the Press, which we have been taught to consider our chief inheritance from the Heroes who achieved our Independence, and which we are assembled this day to guard and perpetuate. But he is not alone in his treason. True, he is the first Northern man who has ever dared preach treason to the Union; but he knew there were black-hearted traitors at the South who have heretofore threatened the union of the States; and he foolishly hoped to win their votes by adopting their principles. They however, openly proclaim, that while they love the *treason*, they very cordially despise the traitor; and although the cry of Disunion has been eagerly seized upon by those who lost all of character they had in their repudiation of Southern faith and Southern honor by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it brings with it no hope for the Northern traitor who “set this ball in motion”. It is resorted to by the weak and reckless madmen of the Slaveocracy, for the same purpose that nursery maids tell ghost-stories to children; and with very much the same success. These ghost stories of the nursery, lose all their horrors by the lapse of years and a too frequent repetition; and so it is with the stale and senseless, and yet wicked and treasonable cry of disunion. It is too disgusting to merit serious argument; and those who put forth this foolish and absurd threat against the integrity of the Union, would be very unhappy if they did not *know* that the Free North and West, will never *permit* this glorious work of our Patriot fathers, to be destroyed, but *will whip into submission*—aye, *whip into the most prompt and abject submission*—any and every section of the country which dares to raise the standard of REBELLION. I say they *know* this, and would be unhappy if they did not *feel* it to be true; because Union with us, is the very breath of their nostrils—their one only source of safety from the million of slaves they hold in bondage, and in relation to whom, JEFFERSON said—“I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just”, and that “a *revolution in the wheel of fortune—an exchange of situation*, is among possible events.” They can’t exist without our *protection*; and we have simply to point to the Constitution and enforce its provisions upon the refractory. As well might a child in its nurse’s arms, attempt to resist the will of its Parents, as the South bully about secession in opposition to the wishes and the consent of the North. And so, too, with the East and North-East. We are, thank God, all dependent one upon the other; and a dissolution of the Union is simply an impossibility. Look at the position of this great North-West. In less than half a century, three-fourths of

the whole population of the United States, will be concentrated here; and does any sane man believe, that for selfish purposes of their own, the South or the East, may withdraw from this Union and set up for themselves, and thus cut off from the *Atlantic*, the whole West and North-West of this great continent? Why the bare idea of such a proceeding, is an absurdity; and he who advances it, has given *prima facie* evidence that he is fully qualified to become the inmate of an Insane Asylum. Neither the South, nor the East, nor the West, possess either the right or the physical ability, to destroy this glorious Union; and the sooner a hempen cord is affixed to the neck of the arch traitors who thus threaten the integrity of the Union, the better it will be for our whole country. The treason is not the less worthy of punishment because at the very head of those who thus dare to threaten Disunion, stands Ex-President FILLMORE, of New York, a candidate for the Presidency, and JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE of Kentucky, the candidate of the African Democracy for the Vice Presidency. General JACKSON would have hung CALHOUN in 1832 if HENRY CLAY had not saved him by his compromise bill; and quite as certainly as yonder sun now shines alike upon the just and the unjust, so certain is it, that if JOHN C. FREMONT should be elected to the Presidency, the very first overt act of treason which these windy Traitors now only threaten, will be met with a Traitor's doom. I care not from what quarter the treason comes. Be it from an Ex-President at the North, or from the gaseous Bullies of the South, or the Drunken Border Ruffians of the West,—let one or all of them, venture upon the Experiment of actual treason to the Union, and a Traitor's doom is as certainly in store for them as I am now addressing you, if JOHN C. FREMONT should be elected to the Presidency. We invite the issue; and in the name of the law-abiding, and Union-loving people of the Free States, we dare them to put their threats in execution. But barking dogs rarely bite; and with FREMONT in the Executive Chair, the silly fools who talk of disunion, and seek to frighten men with the weapons of children, will shrink into the insignificance from which alone, accident and crime, have enabled them to emerge into a bad notoriety.

But who is JOHN C. FREMONT? [*Nine cheers for Fremont.*] Fellow-citizens, I have already said, that in this great contest for freedom—this great struggle for constitutional liberty, and the freedom of the white race, and for the preservation of the free soil of our country from the blighting curse of slavery—men are as nothing; and therefore, I have purposely abstained from the slightest allusion to our candidate for the Presidency. I am a poor eulogist; and but for the calls for "something about FREMONT and his Romanism", which are constantly reaching my ears from the vicinity of the stand, I should not have alluded to him at all. For me it would be quite sufficient to know, that he is a gentleman of intelligence and a man of honor; and that he was selected to be our standard-bearer, because he is pledged if elected, to carry out our principles; and because the

history of his life, has clearly demonstrated, that he possesses the necessary courage and firmness, fearlessly to discharge all his duties, to enforce the Laws, and to hang the traitors—large or small—who may venture upon an attempt to dismember the Union. But I am happy to be able to add, and I speak from a knowledge of the man, that he is not only thus fully qualified to be our standard-bearer in this great contest, but that he is pre-eminently the man for the times; and peculiarly fitted to fill the Executive chair in such manner as will insure to our country peace and prosperity at home, and command for our Institutions the respect and consideration of the Nations of the Earth. His talents are conceded, even by his enemies; and his contributions to science, his explorations in the unknown regions of our vast continent; his great and untiring energy, his inexhaustible resources in the presence of difficulties which would have appalled the stoutest hearts, and his indomitable perseverance, have won for him the universal admiration of Europe and America, exhibited in every form which it is usual for Governments and Peoples to bear testimony to extraordinary merit. His name is as familiar in the halls of Science and the saloons of Fashion, in the Old World, as it has been in our own Capital at Washington; where, until he became the chosen leader of the Freemen of our country, to vindicate the cause of Freedom and of Free Soil, all men of all parties, vied with each other in seeking to do him honor; because in so doing, they honored themselves, by coupling their names with one who had identified himself with the exploration, the development, and the conquest of a vast Empire on the Pacific coast.

Such, fellow-citizens, is the public character of your candidate for the Presidency—one who, although born and educated in a Slave State, made California free; and who has been selected as your standard-bearer because he agrees with you in regard to the demoralizing tendency of the institution of Slavery, and is unalterably resolved, to resist by all constitutional means, its extension into Territory now free. He is now forty three years of age; and more than half his life has been spent in the service of his country. And yet, where is the man—be he friend or foe—who up to the recent period when Colonel FREMONT was selected to be your candidate for the Presidency ever heard a whisper against his public or private character? I appeal with confidence to every man within the sound of my voice, and I know that there are hundreds of his political opponents present—I appeal with confidence to each and all of you—whether until the gallant Pathfinder became our candidate for the Presidency, you ever heard a whisper against his integrity, or the slightest suspicion against the unsullied purity of his public and private character. And yet, because he did not shrink from the responsibility of becoming your leader—be, who never in his life, avoided responsibility of any kind—behold him charged with every crime and every vice, which belong to the most worthless and most debased of our species. And all this, within the last ten months!



He who less than a year ago, was admitted by every Press in America, to be a man of high honor and unsullied reputation—a man of science, a gentleman, and a ripe scholar; and above all, one of the most daring and adventurous explorers of the age, and a gallant soldier who had conquered for us a vast empire and devoted it to freedom forever—is now held up to the astonished gaze of his countrymen and the world, as a knave and a cheat, a coward and a braggart, an ignorant fool, and a miserable impostor! And not content with this, his domestic privacy has been invaded, the memory of his mother has been assailed, the character of his parents been traduced, the movements of his wife been tracked, and her purposes and objects misrepresented;—and in short, his Religion made the pretext for the vilest assaults upon his honor and honesty.

To all this he has made no response, except in reply to questions asked with honest motives; but has simply pointed to his past life and public services, and defied the malice of his enemies to lay their finger upon a solitary act of his life, which will not bear the most rigid scrutiny. He has left the entire field to his enemies, and permitted them to do their worst; and when they had done all that malice could invent, or falsehood, backed by perjury, could manufacture against him, the people of *Iowa*, *Vermont* and *Maine*, gave a verdict of acquittal in such emphatic terms, that its reverberation from the hills of New England was heard and felt in every hamlet throughout the land. That verdict you of the Northwest, will be called upon to endorse on the 4th of November next; and oh, if you love your country and its institutions—if you would preserve to your children and their descendants, the blessings of free-labor upon free soil—falter not at that, the most important election that has ever occurred in the history of the world.

*A Voice "What of Fremont's Romanism?"*

Fellow-citizens, I feel humbled in being called upon to reply to such a question. The charge is beneath contempt, as are the miserable barking curs with whom it originated. But even if it were as true as it is notoriously false, *and known to be false* by the vilest of the vile calumniators who have manufactured to order, almost every charge which has been circulated against our candidate, and prostituted their Press and their manhood, by spying into the movements and assailing the ladies of Col. FREMONT's family—if I say, it were true instead of being as it is, a downright wilful and malicious falsehood—it would not affect my course one iota. I hold that every man's Religion, is a matter solely between him and his God; and that the public have nothing to do with it. But all mankind do not so think; and therefore, immediately upon the appearance of this charge in that vilest of all vile presses which ever disgraced this or any other country, I went to the residence of Col. FREMONT, and there, in the presence of his *Jessie*, I received the free and explicit contradiction which appeared in the columns of the *Courier and Enquirer* on the following day. [*Did you see Jessie? What is she like? Three cheers for Jessie.*]

I thank you in *Jessie's* name. I did see *Jessie*; and I saw her too, the evening before I left home to meet you here. She is like—just like a pure, lovely and intellectual woman who loves her husband and glories in his fame; and whose every feeling of gratitude, has been awakened by the noble enthusiasm which the American people have evinced in his defence. She is all over a woman—a beautiful, lovely and confiding woman; with the rarest intellectual qualities cultivated as her father's daughter was certain to have them cultivated and developed. But clever as she is, she still is all woman; and would rather see her husband's fame vindicated from the assaults of his calumniators and their associate curs, than see him President. She defied her father's wrath to be the Pathfinder's wife; and she would rather to-day, give him and her traducers full permission to continue their Hyena assaults upon her and his family, and freely abandon every aspiration for the occupancy of the White House, than that one honest man in this widely extended country, should entertain a doubt of the high honor and unimpeachable integrity of him whose great qualities she was the first to discover and reward. Such is *Jessie*. She is fitted for the most exalted station; and she has proved herself equally qualified for the most humble. That was a noble response of hers, when appealed to by the ladies of California to urge her husband to *permit* California to become a Slave State, as the only means of preventing her and them, from being compelled to do the work of the kitchen, "No, never", was her reply. "I was born and have lived all my life in a Slave State, and it is far better that we should do our work for a few years or forever, than that Slavery should be established here". And she actually went into her kitchen and labored for months, like an honest true-hearted woman, as she is, urging all the while, her gallant husband to persevere in his determination to make California a Free State. He did persevere, and success crowned his efforts; for then his word was law with the great majority of the People of California. I honor him for his noble stand in behalf of freedom, and I honor *Jessie* for her being true to him, to herself, and to her sex, in that hour of trial; and God willing, I hope to tell her so in the White House on the 4th of March next. [*The speaker was here interrupted with loud and continued cheers for Jessie and her Pathfinder.*]

But to my interview upon the subject of Colonel FREMONT's religion. I was assured that his mother was a Protestant Episcopalian, and that he was baptized and educated in that religion; that after he had arrived at years of discretion, he was *confirmed* by the Bishop of South Carolina, and that he had never for a moment faltered in his religious faith; that Mrs. FREMONT was also an Episcopalian, and that their children had all been baptized in that faith,—he on one occasion having been the God-father and taken upon himself the vows required of him; and finally, that he *ever has been, and is now, a Protestant Episcopalian*, and never for an instant, has entertained the idea of abandoning his religion; and

has never even witnessed the performance of a Religious ceremony in a Romish church more than half a dozen times in his life!

Which of you could say more than this in relation to your Protestantism? and when charged with Romanism, and enquired of, whether the charge be true, what could any of you say or do, more than Col. FREMONT has done whenever appealed to upon the subject? And yet the worthless curs who originated this falsehood, have kept up their barking at that same hole! And each and every of the slanders against Col. FREMONT and his family, all of which have their origin in the same contaminated source, are as utterly groundless as is this story of his Romanism. No doubt the same manufacturers of falsehoods and the same assailants of the ladies of Col. FREMONT's family, will continue their vocation between this and the day of election; but these wretched vipers have been deprived of their fangs, and even the *feelings* of the parties traduced, can no longer be injured by anything originating in such a stew of corruption.

Fellow-citizens, I thank you for the patience with which you have listened to this long *talk*—speech I did not intend it to be; and I have only one more request to make of you. Before you retire to-night, just take a look at the maps representing the Slave and free territory in the United States, which I am glad to see every where exhibited; and mark how completely the surrender of Kansas to Slavery, would be giving up Utah, New Mexico, and ultimately, California itself, to the same blighting curse. Western Kansas runs to the Rocky Mountains and joins Utah; and give Kansas to Slavery, and the *gate* for freedom and freemen, to pass into New Mexico, is closed forever. But preserve Kansas to freedom, as she was so solemnly declared to be forever devoted in 1820, and Texas and Missouri, will con-

tinue hereafter, the extreme limit to which Slavery can go West and South; and when Mexico falls into the Union, as she must and will, at some future day, freedom and free labor, will claim her as their own. All, everything therefore, depends upon the preservation of Kansas to freedom, and adherence to the Compromise of 1820. Abandon that great gate to the South and West, to Slavery, and you not only give up the whole Northwest to the incubus of Slave-labor, but you abandon at once and forever, *Utah, New Mexico, California, and Mexico* herself, when she comes to us, to the tender mercies of the Slaveocracy.

Are you prepared for such a contingency? Men of Indiana, and you of Illinois and Wisconsin, can you—will you, by a neglect of the most solemn duty which freemen were ever called upon to discharge, become parties to so great a crime against the future of this vast continent! I hope not, and I trust not. Remember that the Institution of *Slavery* is of man, and has its origin in his vices and his crimes; while *Freedom* is the child of Heaven, and was the great Boon of God to man, whom he created after his own image, and but little lower than the angels, and gave "him dominion "over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, "and over the cattle, and over all the Earth, and "over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the "Earth", but not over the limbs and thews and sinews of his fellow man. Be faithful then, to your selves, to your posterity, to your Country and to your God on the 4th of November next. And let your watch word be Freedom, Liberty, Union. Freedom and Liberty, one and inseparable, now and forever; and *Union*—everlasting Union among the States—for our own benefit and for the benefit of mankind, and for the preservation of FREEDOM and LIBERTY.











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